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Landscapes, spatial totalities or special regions?

Norman Backhaus*

Dept. of Geography,University of Zurich, Winterthurerstr. 190, 8057 Zurich, Switzerland

Abstract

Landscapes have become important resources that are claimed by different interest groups. Different perceptions and experiences of landscapes and different entitlements can result in misunderstandings and conflicts. This can be problematic if stakeholders do not recognise that their experience is one of many and that there is no such thing as an absolute view on landscapes. In contrast to everyday conceptions and some scientific notions (cf. Bai-Lian Li, 2000; Berque 1986 in Reichler, 2002; Fry, 2001; Nassauer & Opdam, 2008; Naveh, 2001; Schlögel in Hard, 2008; Tress, et al., 2001) we do not conceive landscapes as encompassing the totality of a certain section of space that researchers should strive for to grasp. Rather we envisage landscape as a sphere of coexisting heterogeneity (Massey, 2005) that is under tension (Wylie, 2007). Therefore, the same landscape can be perceived in various different ways and consequently it is being regionalised in different ways too. This, however, is not always recognised in a reflected and discursive manner. Rather, many think that their own perception of landscapes and the regionalisation that is connected with this is more or less the real thing. Photography and other image processing techniques even enhance this notion, implicitly telling the beholder of images that she gets what she sees and that landscapes are what they look like. Especially when it comes to developing and protecting landscapes an absolute understanding of landscapes as a totality can be problematic. In order to make different views of landscapes and different regionalisations transparent we propose a model of landscape perception and experience that is open to accommodate different scientific and everyday approaches without trying to capture landscape's totality (cf. Backhaus, Reichler, et al., 2008; Backhaus, 2010; Backhaus & Stremlow, 2010, see figure 1). Moreover, this model offers a possibility to combine the concept of region and regionalisation with the concept of landscape that is better suited to grasp emotional attachments to locations as well as a sense of place (Cresswell, 2004). The concept is tested with an empirical vignette: an analysis of a journey through the Alps that took place in the 18th century.

Keywords: Landscape; Regionalisation; Perception; Experience; Performance

1. Introduction

Landscapes have become an important resource for different stakeholders with a variety of interests that often differ from each other. Hence, the development and the quality of landscapes are a consequence of human interactions with their environment and thus have an influence on the wellbeing and the quality of life (Backhaus,

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +41-44-635-51-72; fax: +41-44-635-68-44.
E-mail address: norman.backhaus@geo.uzh.ch.

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2010). In densely populated areas such as Switzerland many landscapes – especially their natural and cultural diversity – are perceived as threatened due to urban sprawl (cf. Jaeger, et al., 2008; Bundesamt für Umwelt Wald und Landschaft (BUWAL), 2003; Ewald & Klaus, 2009) and other changing resource uses (i.e. intensified forest use for timber, cf. Johann, 2007). Others (i.e. Alpine landscapes) are deemed as vulnerable and as areas that should be protected (Bätzing, 2005; Lehmann, et al., 2007). Consequently, the sustainable development of such contested landscapes has become difficult (Golobic, 2010). Since it is virtually impossible to grasp landscapes in their totality (I will later argue that this is not possible at all) development policies run the risk of being biased, either by putting one or two aspects (i.e. the conservation of biodiversity, economic prosperity, aesthetic qualities) to the fore and neglecting others or by not using comprehensible planning criteria. Another problem for landscape planning is how to define their boundaries. How large can landscapes be and how small, and are they delimitable in an exact way and can they be grasped in absolute terms or do they essentially remain blurry? In this paper I will address both problems by presenting a model of landscape perception and experience (the so called „four pole-model“) and by combining it with the concept of regionalisation. Before that I will argue that the conception of landscapes as totality that can be grasped with a holistic approach cannot (and should not) be upheld. With an empirical vignette – an analysis of Adalbert Traugott von Gersdorf‘s journey through Switzerland in 1786 (von Gersdorf, 2009 [1786], Backhaus, forthcoming), – the model will be exemplified. Since the model was developed in the process of a synthesis of contemporary research on the perception of the Alpine region, a past account of landscape perception is an appealing test area for the usefulness of the model.

2. Landscape conceptions: totality vs. openness

Landscape conceptions vary according to the time and age they have been conceived in (cf. Antrop, 1999; Brückner, 2009; Kirchhoff & Trepl, 2009) and to the context they are used in (cf. Bertrand, 1968; Wylie, 2007). Hence, there is no comprehensible landscape definition that is commonly accepted in scientific discourse or in every day debates. According to Sauer (1963, in Wylie, 2007, p. 21) the term landscape reflects the shape of the land that is by no means thought of as simply physical. Consequently, this land‘s shape can be perceived, read and altered by humans. Therefore, many associate the term ‘landscape’ with the appearance of the world, a view into the distance, or the (physical) environment itself (cf. Denis Cosgrove, 2002). Photography and other image processing techniques even enhance this notion, implicitly telling the beholder of images that she gets what she sees and that landscapes are what they look like. According to this view landscapes can be looked at like at an image and consequently can be read like a text (i.e. Hartke, 1953; Jackson, 1984). That being the case, a learned reader of this text will be able to grasp a landscape‘s essence and how and possibly by whom it was shaped. Or as Pierce Lewis (in Oakes & Price, 2008, p. 176) puts it,

> “our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears in tangible visible form… All our cultural warts and blemishes are there, and our glories too; but above all, our ordinary day-to-day qualities are exhibited for anybody who wants to find them and knows how to look for them.”

While being plausible, with this approach many aspects (i.e. sense of place, contestations, negotiations, institutions, symbolisations) remain hidden or „unseen“. Critics (i.e. D. Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; Bohr, 2009) of this approach go a step further and perceive landscapes as social constructions, which include symbols and cultural interpretations that are neither natural nor unchangeable:

> “Thus, landscape *is* not this or that, rather it is something that is understood differently in *different* contexts.” (Bohr, 2009, p. 97; own translation, emphasis in the original)

According to a constructivist perspective landscapes consist of cultural symbolisations that do not exist outside people‘s memories. Stripped of them landscapes are mere physical phenomena without meaning and thus cease to be landscapes. Taken seriously constructivism allows for the identification of contrasting representations of landscapes. As a consequence the same area can be the projection of entirely different landscapes. In other words this approach turns from reading landscapes to reading the symbolic representations of the readers or beholders.

Supporters of non-representational theory (Thrift, 1996; Thrift, 2001, in Wylie, 2007, p. 163; Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000; Thrift, 2008; Massey, 2005) criticise constructivists, because they drain the life out of things they study by inscribing categories of cultural meanings:

> „In other words, nonrepresentational theory sees everyday life as chiefly concerned with the on-going creation of effects through encounters and the kind of linguistic interplay that comes from this creation, rather than with consciously planned codings and symbols.“ (N. Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000: 415)

According to this notion landscapes should not only be perceived as symbolisations or texts that can be read and that represent meanings and symbols. An important issue of non-representational theory concerns performance and the (human) body, both of which are not grasped adequately by constructivist approaches. They argue that the experience of the world extends from the body and expands beyond the particularities of place (Tilley, 2004, in Wylie, 2007, p. 172).

Throughout the development of these notions and approaches landscape somehow grows from a mere ensemble of physical objects that are framed by humans‘ visual limitations to a text, in which human traces can be read, and further to a set of ideas and symbols. During the last step it somewhat loses its objects, why non-representational theory extents landscape to a term that gathers together body, place, perceptions, experiences and relationships between people and between people and things (Wylie, 2007, p. 172). Consequently, also some non-representational theorists (i.e. Tilley 2004, in Wylie, 2007, p. 172) along with others (i.e. Bai-Lian Li, 2000; Berque, 1986, in Reichler, 2002; Fry, 2001; Nassauer & Opdam, 2008; Naveh, 2001; Schlögel in Hard, 2008; Tress et al., 2001) call for a holistic approach that links bodies’ movements and places into a whole (Tilley 2004, p. 25, in Wylie, 2007, p. 172). This claim seems reasonable and necessary in order to counter approaches that limit landscapes to their physical appearance. However, the claim for a holistic approach implies that at some stage the totality of a landscape (similar to the landscape conception as “*Totalcharakter einer Erdgegend*” in German Geography of the 1960s; cf. Werlen, 2000; Weichhart, 2008) – including its physical manifestations, social institutions, emotions, and bodily experiences – can be grasped. Would this be the case – if only for a limited or given time – planning and development of landscapes could be directly and justly derived from this information. Landscape policy could subsequently rely on the fact that landscapes have distinct characteristics that can be grasped in absolute terms, even though this process would be complex. In other words landscapes could be understood as closed entities that have a (presumably) optimal condition like a climax state or a complex puzzle where at the end all parts smoothly fit together.

I want to hold against this notion of closure that tensions occurring within landscapes cannot be solved by knowing their total characteristics. In line with Massey‘s (2005) conception of space as „throwntogetherness“ of different trajectories that inhibit its closure I want to argue that the same applies for landscapes: „There is no last word, only infinite becoming and constant reactivation“ (Thrift, 2008, p. 114). Consequently, landscape descriptions are always biased. Furthermore, it is not possible to accurately define this bias, because there is no neutral ground from which a bias (or its extent) can objectively identified. In a relational view, however, (potential) biases can at least be put in a relation with each other and can be negotiated. As a consequence, landscape planning and development must be based on and geared towards negotiations of different trajectories and between different notions and stakeholders.

The different trajectories that are passing through landscapes have meanings that come to the fore more or less prominent. In combination with other aspects (i.e. physical objects, other trajectories, discourses) they produce landscapes and give them a distinct countenance. This countenance may be shared by many or it may be private for only few to be experienced. Hence, the same physical area can be perceived in different ways. In other words, landscapes can be understood as regions that are a consequence of human actions, perceptions, or performances. Therefore, they are constantly restructured (cf. Giddens, 1992; Werlen, 1993), newly appropriated (Müller & Backhaus, 2007), and differently lived through (Thrift, 1996). While the concept of regionalisation is anchored in constructivist thinking, it is nevertheless useful for non-representational approaches too. Of course by giving such

regions a name they become representations. If these name tags are not perceived as defined (and therefore closed) but rather as temporary artefacts that are moving through space as trajectories themselves, they lose their representativeness. Regions are a powerful concept to make different perceptions and experiences of landscapes visible and thus better discussable.

The incompleteness of landscapes and the impossibility to grasp them in their totality should not lead to despair. The realisation that landscape cannot be grasped entirely should nevertheless encourage researchers and planners to look at every possible angle of landscapes. The model that is presented in this section is designed to support landscape research and planning. Although it is not based on a specific theoretical framework it was developed from a constructivist point of view that aimed at synthesising different landscape perceptions. Nevertheless, it can accommodate different scientific approaches to and everyday perceptions of landscapes (Backhaus, 2010; Backhaus, et al., 2007; Backhaus, Reichler, et al., 2008). Moreover, in this paper I will develop the model further to also accommodate non-representational approaches.

3. The four pole model of landscape perception and experience

At least in western societies landscapes are seen as a combination of natural and cultural aspects where nature (i.e. in the form of wilderness) and culture (i.e. in the form of ideas) are opposing poles, between which landscape perception and experience occurs, hence the first axis of the model. The second axis is composed by the duality of individual and society. The field that stretches between these four poles encompasses different kinds of approaches to and perceptions of landscapes. While every access to landscapes includes aspects of every pole, certain approaches tend to be drawn towards one or another pole. They also serve as entry points to landscape research. The model wants to make the position of these scientific approaches in relation to other approaches transparent.

The physical pole („nature") consists of the physical elements of landscapes, without which landscape perception and experience would almost be impossible. These physical elements and their interrelations are in the focus of natural sciences such as geomorphology, biology, ecology, hydrology etc. While dealing with these elements the natural sciences unearth things that are invisible or hidden such as material flows (i.e. Hiltbrunner, et al., 2005) or interactions between fauna and flora (i.e. Senn & Suter, 2003). The knowledge produced by this research has an influence on landscape perception. If people know for example that certain neophytes are destroying the habitat of local plants, they may be less inclined to regard a landscape full of these flowering plants as beautiful and healthy and therefore experience it quite differently. This also explains why experts' opinions about landscapes sometimes differ from those of other people (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989).

The symbolic pole („culture") deals with cultural patterns that have an influence on landscape perception and experience (i.e. landscape painting and gardening in the 19th century (c.f. Reichler, 2002), contemporary notions of wilderness (i.e. Stremlow & Sidler, 2002), aesthetic aspects of landscape photography). Aesthetics and questions of taste are an important component of landscape perception. Alterations of landscapes that oppose shared (and often traditional) aesthetic notions are not easily accepted (i.e. Felber Rufer, 2006). Cultural studies including architecture and arts gather around this pole.

The subjective pole („individual") focuses on the individual's perception of landscapes. It refers to the subject as the centre of sensations, perceptions, and emotions that are the result of its opening to the outside through its senses. The visual aspect is most prominent and probably increasingly so, however, sound, smell, touch, and even taste are other senses that are part of an individual landscape perception (i.e. Jacquart, 1995; Prassoloff, 1995). This pole is the realm of psychological and behavioural studies, of which many are using a quantitative approaches to ascertain people's landscape preferences (i.e. Herzog, et al., 2000; Hunziker, et al., 2008).

The inter-subjective pole („society") is the entry point of the social sciences that define landscape as a product of social practices (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; Jackson, 1994; Corbin, 2001). These practices include political negotiations (i.e. Ejderyan, 2009; Zaugg Stern, 2006), economic valuations (i.e. Simmen, et al., 2007; Soguel, et al.,

2007), and the creation of images and regionalisations of certain areas (Backhaus, Müller, et al., 2008; Müller, 2007).

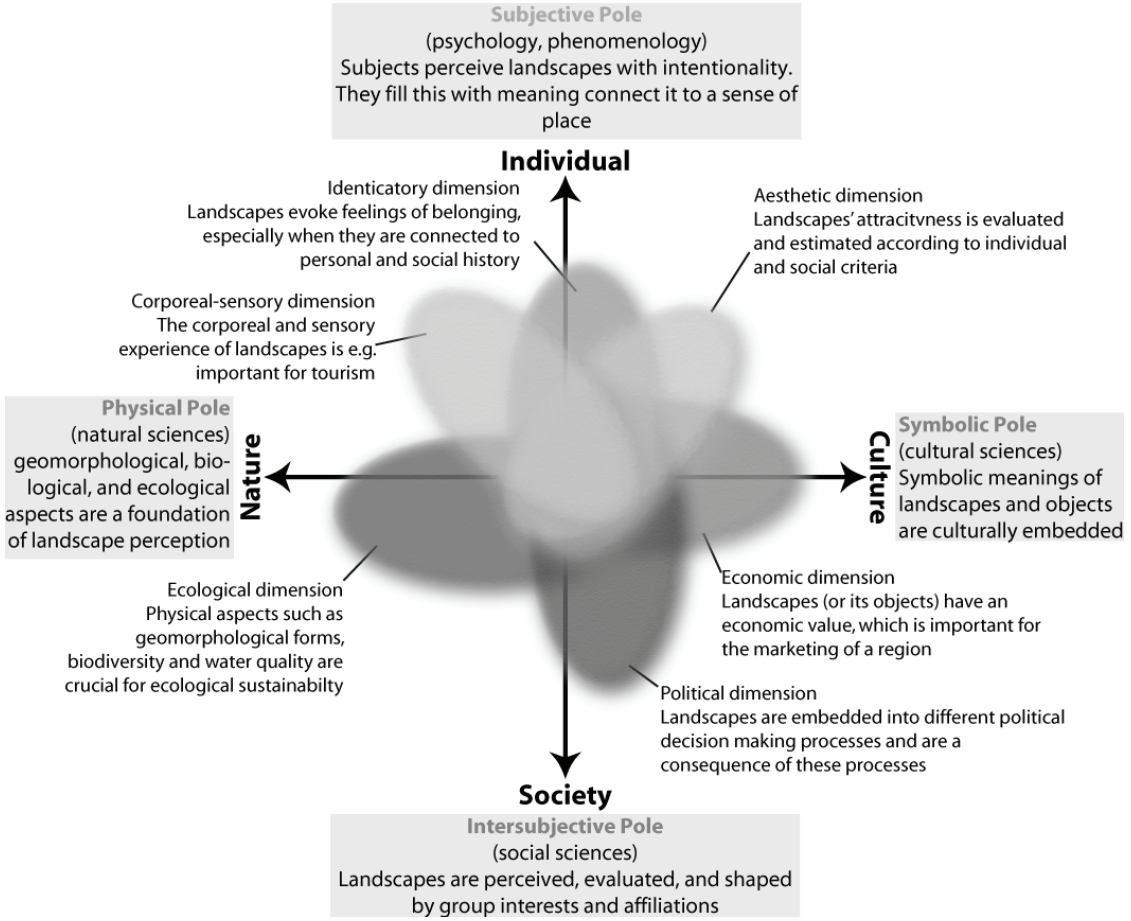

Figure 1: The four pole model with its six dimensions of landscape experience (Source: Backhaus, et al., 2007; Backhaus, Reichler, et al., 2008; Backhaus, 2010, adapted)

4. The six dimensions of landscape experience

The four poles define the field, within which landscape perception occurs, and within which different scientific approaches – natural, cultural, behavioural, and social sciences – can be positioned. The six dimensions that will be explained briefly in this chapter offer another entry point to landscapes through experience (for a more elaborate explanation cf. Backhaus, et al., 2007; Backhaus, Reichler, et al., 2008). The six dimensions of landscape experience that we have identified, can be placed within the field of poles in relation to each other. They are overlapping because on the one hand they touch different aspects of the field and on the other hand because most landscape experiences encompass more than one dimension.

The corporeal and sensory dimension is closely related to performative concepts. Landscapes are experienced through the senses and more than mere visual impressions. Landscapes are experienced differently when they are hiked through, when they sound, when its cold or hot, when one feels fit or weak etc. This dimension is not only important for tourists but is central to routine every day experiences.

The aesthetic dimension emphasises values attributed to beauty and pleasantness. Socially developed notions about aesthetics mix and sometimes contrast with individual tastes. With this dimension the visual sense is even more prominent than with the corporeal-sensory dimension. However, aesthetics go beyond the visual. For example studies on mountaineering show that alpinists had (or still have) distinct notions about the manner in which a mountain should be conquered (i.e. Siegrist, 1996; Wirz, 2007). The accounts of many endeavours are highly aestheticised. Art projects are also dealing with aesthetic dimensions of landscapes, but they also challenge routine views and common conceptions of how landscapes should look like.

The identificatory dimension concerns the feeling of belonging and the sense of place. Landscapes play an important role in the construction of the notion of *Heimat*, a strong feeling of belonging in a place, which includes that one can perform through a landscape in an acceptable manner. Therefore, landscapes must be regarded as carriers of a common history of certain people, which is an important issue for landscape planning (Stephenson, 2010).

The political dimension emphasises that landscapes as consequences of human action and performance are always also political. There is a constant flow of negotiations between stakeholder groups about the way landscapes should be appropriated, used and shaped (Hunziker, et al., 2008; Droz & Miéville-Ott, 2005). Moreover, landscapes are regulated by various decisions on different political levels.

The economic dimension is a prominent dimension, for landscapes are not only shaped by political negotiations but also by economic processes. Landownership is a crucial factor in landscape development and often poses a problem if larger tracks of land should be developed in an integral way. Besides that landscapes themselves have an economic value especially for tourism. The Swiss government for example estimates the touristic value of Swiss landscapes at fifty billion euros (Seco, 2002). This value is a crucial factor for the development of landscapes and planners have to ask themselves about their influence on this value.

The ecological dimension is often prominent when it comes to the protection of landscapes. In most kinds of conservation schemes a high degree of biodiversity is a crucial factor. Thereby, expert opinions regarding ecological quality do not always correlate with aesthetic values or personal tastes.

Temporal aspects are relevant in every dimension, which is why there is no distinct historical dimension. With its different entry points the four pole model with its six dimensions is of course a construction representing different possibilities to access landscapes. However, the fact that it is a construction – and as such a tool to reduce complexity – does not mean that it is limited to representational research. The different dimensions (particularly the corporeal-sensory, the identificatory, and the aesthetic dimension) show that for example approaches focusing on performances can be integrated as well.

5. Travelling through Swiss landscapes in the 18th century, an empirical vignette

Adalbert Traugott von Gersdorf was a German scholar, who in 1786 embarked on a journey through the Alps and wrote a diary including sketches (Gersdorf von, 2009 [1786]). In this diary he described, sketched and evaluated landscapes, wrote about encounters he and his entourage had, and noted findings about his favourite pastime mineralogy. The content of the diary was analysed –with tams.analyzer – using the four pole model to categorise the data. Even though the model was not developed for the analysis of historical texts, it proved to be useful to grasp how Gersdorf perceived and experienced the landscapes through which he travelled.

Most of his descriptions could be placed near the physical pole where he focused on the analysis of minerals that he either found or examined in collections of befriended scholars. The descriptions are mostly limited to the objects and do not extend to the landscape or the environment. While he tried to be systematic with the minerals he was not with the flora and even less so with the fauna. Recounts of tree formations were rather used as landmarks to give directions – maps were scarce and often inaccurate at that time – than for biological reasons.

Gersdorf regards landscapes as being what he sees and not as social constructions, he therefore does not perceive its objects as cultural symbols. Nevertheless his account touches the symbolic pole. He often talks about the quality of field crops („excellent grain“) and towns („[Zurich] is not a well built town“) and has thereby an absolute understanding of what is good and bad, and aesthetic and unappealing. Regarding the places he travels through he notes what surprises him about the people („Almost everybody, particularly the women, looked ugly…“) and their lifestyle („Bavarians give themselves over to drinking“). Cultural practices as such do not seem to interest him much unless they somehow intrigue him. Their description is less systematic than personal.

Basically all of Gersdorfs descriptions – perhaps with the exception of the minerals – are made from a personal point of view. However, he himself very often speaks in absolute terms referring to values that seem to have been shared by his coevals. He appraises paintings and collections („excellent“, „unorderly“) but also people („admirable“, „uninformed“).

In the 18th century landscapes were not regarded as result of extensive human interventions and social processes and also the diary does not refer to this issue. It was rather the opposite that Alpine landscapes were regarded as sublime, natural and healthy shaping social and moral characteristics of the inhabitants. From the point of view of an urban elite the Alps seemed to be pure and pristine (cf. Stremlow, 1998). The diary gives moreover an impression about how Gersdorf experiences foreign social customs. People in Switzerland obviously swam a lot and Gersdorf was surprised how well they did and commented on the prowess of women swimmers and that the separation of the sexes in bathes was not so strict as his German hometown in Thuringia. Moreover, he observed several military parades and describes the different uniforms and composition of the regiments he met. The frequency of this kind of observation indicates that the military presence in the landscapes of these days was much more visible than it is nowadays (which is not only because contemporary soldiers wear camouflage instead of the yellow trousers Gersdorf observed in Schaffhausen). Regarding his own social status the diary reveals that he rarely talked to „ordinary“ people who were not his coevals.

Gersdorfs accounts have a distinct bias towards the physical pole, but the diary provides also glimpses into perceptions that can be located near the other poles. Coming to the the analysis of the diary with the categories of the six dimensions we can also see that not all of them are accounted for in the same way. Gersdorf experienced the landscapes he travelled through on horseback, in coaches and on foot. His descriptions often dwelled on the quality of roads and pathways or the stubbornness of his mules. When he got a „bad foot“ towards the end of his journey his accounts became more irritated and his criticism more pronounced. This clearly indicates that the corporeal-sensory dimension played (and plays) an important role for the experience of landscapes and also shows that the performance of travelling through landscapes can play an important role. For a foreigner like Gersdorf the potential to identify with the landscapes he travelled through is limited. Although his accounts become the more enthusiastic the closer he comes to the high mountains, he never connects the sublime views with his person. The aesthetic dimension is very prominent and Gersdorf has distinct conceptions about aesthetic qualities that he uses so naturally that it is clear that his readers would think the same. These conceptions are rooted in 18th century aesthetics that emphasised the sublime and picturesque (Stremlow, 1998: 90). Consequently, his descriptions become the most colourful when he writes about lakes and the glacial high mountains. He does not use the word „sublime“ (*erhaben*), but the awe he experiences is palpable. Being a member of the upper class, Gersdorf did not have to bother with (many) economic questions which could be a reason why the economic dimension only appears indirectly. He was fascinated with mills, metal and porcelain factories and visited them when he could. He moreover describes how goods were transported (on rivers, roads and mule tracks) and paints a vivid image of how production and trade shaped the landscape. The reader also gets informed about habits that sound strange today. In the Valais an active trade with vipers that were used for medicine but that also enriched soups took place. The political landscape looked differently in the 18th century and Gersdorfs entourage had to travel through more countries than it would have to today. Nevertheless, he rarely mentions political aspects. Exceptions are the account of negotiations about the restoration of bridges that were damaged by floods. In one case the costs were shared between France and Savoy in another the sovereign haggled with the Church about who has to pay. Political institutions become transparent when he reports about hunting restrictions in the Bernese Oberland, where only citicens of (the city of) Berne were

allowed to hunt. The death of Frederick the Great – an incident of great momentousness at that time – was only mentioned briefly and made clear that things occurring far away had less meaning than nowadays, their trajectories were less far reaching than they are today and they moreover took much more time to spread. Although the concept of sustainable development has its origins quite near Gersdorf‘s hometown (1713 Hans Carl von Carlowitz initiated a concept of sustainable forestry in Freiberg, cf. Müller, 2007: 70), ecological interrelations were at that time neither discussed nor researched. Therefore, it does not surprise, that Gersdorf barely mentions such interrelations. He once writes about the decrease of fish catches near the town of Bremgarten but does not provide an explanation for this. He often talked about the quality of drinking water, which in most cases was good. Moreover, he compared the tastes of these waters and seemed to have a good taste memory for he remarks that some water he drank, (almost) tasted like one he had several years ago somewhere else.

6. Discussion

We can conclude that the four pole model can be successfully used for the analysis of landscape descriptions that originate in the 18th century. Moreover, it shows that although Gersdorf‘s interests clearly lay with mineralogy and land surveying, there are other aspects that he perceived in landscapes and that resulted in his personal (but nevertheless socially embedded) regionalisations. His account of the journey to the Alps is one trajectory that passes through the different landscapes and leaves its traces (not so much in the landscapes themselves but in his account and the imagination of its readers). The example clearly shows the incompleteness of such an account (of any account) – e.g. the voices of the local people are rarely heard – even though the readers get a good impression of what Gersdorf may have experienced. Both the incompleteness of the diary‘s description of landscapes as well as the potential to „see“ them before one‘s imaginary eye reveal the tensions that happen to be part of any landscape rendition be it a travellers tale, a planners observation, a photography, or a local saga.

The non-closedness of landscapes, the different trajectories flowing through them, and the different possibilities to experience and to regionalise landscapes make landscape planning a challenging task. Many different and sometimes contradicting demands have to be considered and solutions have to be found that possibly enhance its potential for further developments. However, would there be a landscape totality the job of landscape planners and policy makers would not be easier. On the contrary, they would have to strive for a definition of this totality and based on that to develop some kind of „climax“ state for individual landscapes. Therefore, with landscapes‘ openness in mind it does not make sense to reach an ideal state of specific landscapes. Rather than to find the final description of landscapes the task then will be more to find widely acceptable solutions of landscape development that leave space for further development without foreclosing this space. Consequently, the focus of landscape planning rather is on the process of negotiations than on the determination of a specific landscape‘s ontology.

7. Conclusion

The presented four-pole model of landscape perception and experience has proved to be a useful tool for the analysis of different trajectories that lead through landscapes and that at the same time produce them. The research of physical aspects is equally accounted for as symbolic representations, individual perceptions, and social processes that shape and produce landscapes. The outline of the six dimensions of landscape experience brings every day perceptions, experiences, and performances of landscapes to the fore and makes them transparent and therefore negotiable. The application of these dimensions in landscape research is useful especially for non-representational approaches, because they stress experience and performance of and in landscapes. While trying to address as many aspects of landscape perception and experience as possible the model is not meant as a tool to grasp landscape‘s totality. It rather stresses different (and sometimes opposing) trajectories that ought to be thought over in landscape planning. Expert opinions form one category of trajectories beside those of (other) stakeholders resulting in specific kinds of regionalisations. The adequacy of different opinions can only be ascertained through dialogues that take opposing opinions and stakes seriously.

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